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ACTION NEA-10

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SCCT-01 DHA-02 AID-05 L-03 CC-05

OPR-02 USSS-00 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SY-05 SCS-03 FBC-02

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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3594

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 04881

1. SUMMARY: VIOLENCE ERUPTED IN AN AREA NORTHEAST OF CHARIKAR IN THE PANJSHIR VALLEY ON JULY 22, CONTINUING AND INCREASING UNTIL ORDER WAS APPARENTLY RESTORED BY THE ARMY ON JULY 25. ANTI-POLICE INCIDENT ALSO REPORTED IN LAGHMAN. IN PANJSHIR AFFAIR, SEVERAL POLICE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF HOSTILE GROUP WERE KILLED, AN UNKNOWN NUMBER WOUNDED, AND GROUP OF PRISONERS BROUGHT TO KABUL. IN ONLY PUBLIC STATEMENT SO FAR, MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SPOKESMAN BLAMED DISTURBANCE ON GROUP OF "REACT-IONARIES...ARMED, TRAINED, AND PROVOKED BY PAKISTAN." GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN (GOA) HAS NOT PUBLICLY ADMITTED LAGHMAN INCIDENT IN WHICH POLICE COMMANDANT AND TWO SOLDIERS REPORTEDLY KILLED BEFORE ORDER RESTORED BY ARMY UNITS FROM JALALLABAD.

JUDGING FROM MASS OF RUMORS CIRCULATING KABUL MANY VIEW DISTURBANCES AS MOST SIGNIFICANT CHALLENGE TO POLICE POWERS OF DAUD REGIME SINCE INCEPTION OF REPUBLIC TWO YEARS AGO. RUMORED CAUSES OF VIOLENCE ARE NUMEROUS BUT UNCLEAR AS YET.

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(B)(1)  
(2)(9)

F SAYS THAT GOA HAS KILLED 7 AND CAPTURED 20 YOUNG AFGHANS IN PANJSHIR WHO WERE/ARE KABUL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, MEMBERS OF THE IKHWAN-AL-MUSLIMIN (MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD), AND WHO ALLEGEDLY CONFESSED TO BEING ARMED AND TRAINED BY PAKISTANI MILITARY OFFICERS AT ATTOCK (EAST OF PESHAWAR). PANJSHIR AND LAGHMAN VIOLENCE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN QUELLED THOUGH RUMORS OF INCIDENTS THERE AND IN BADAKHSHAN, JALALLABAD AND PAKHTIA, CONTINUED UNABATED IN KABUL. WE DO NOT RPT NOT THINK THESE EVENTS THREATEN STABILITY OF DAUD REGIME OR U.S. INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN BUT THEY WILL CAUSE AN INVIGORATION OF AFGHAN PROPAGANDA AGAINST PAKISTAN.

(B)(1)  
(2)(4)

2. ON JULY 22 VIOLENCE FLARED IN ROKHA, A TOWN NORTHEAST OF CHARIKAR IN PANJSHIR, VALLEY NORTHEAST OF KABUL, ESCALATING ON THE 23RD AND 24TH CAUSING ARRIVAL OF ARMY UNITS

AND POLICE REINFORCEMENTS. WHILE THERE ARE RUMORS OF CONTINUING INCIDENTS IN PANJSHIR AND BADAKHSHAN FARTHER TO THE NORTHEAST, ORDER SEEMS SUBSTANTIALLY TO HAVE BEEN RESTORED BY THE 25TH. SEVERAL POLICE OFFICERS WERE KILLED ALONG WITH, ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, SIX HOSTILES WHOSE BODIES WERE BROUGHT TO KABUL ALONG WITH THOSE CAPTURED. RUMOR HAS IT THAT IN PANJSHIR A MILITARY POST, POLICE STATION, AND ONE BANK WERE ATTACKED BY WELL-ARMED GROUPS.

3. IN ONLY PUBLIC STATEMENT THUS FAR, MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SPOKESMAN ON RADIO AFGHANISTAN JULY 26 ANNOUNCED THAT PAKISTAN HAD "ARMED, SUPPORTED, AND PROVOKED DISTURBANCES" IN PANJSHIR ACCORDING TO REPORTED CONFESSIONS OF THOSE CAPTURED BY GOVERNMENT. STATEMENT MENTIONED THAT SMALL NUMBER OF "REACTIONARIES" HAD BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED BUT DID NOT MENTION GOVERNMENT CASUALTIES. SPOKESMAN PRAISED TRUE COOPERATION OF PEOPLE OF PANJSHIR WITH AUTHORITIES.

4. ANNOUNCEMENT MAY HAVE BEEN PROMPTED IN PART BY WIDESPREAD PUBLIC AWARENESS OF VIOLENCE IN PANJSHIR AS KABUL IS SEETHING WITH RUMOR. REALIZATION THAT SOMETHING WAS AMISS WAS FUELED BY GOVERNMENT'S CLOSING DOWN OF JESHYH PAVILIONS AND DISMANTLING OF DECORATIONS ON JULY 24 AFTER ANNOUNCING ON 22ND THAT JESHYH FESTIVITIES WOULD BE EXTENDED TO 25TH. GENERAL SUPPOSITION WAS THAT SECURITY FORCES FOR JESHYH CELEBRATIONS

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IN KABUL WERE MORE NEEDED IN PANJSHIR AND IN OTHER LOCALITIES. DISTURBANCES ARE SEEN BY MANY AS MOST SIGNIFICANT CHALLENGE TO DAOUD REGIME'S POLICE POWERS IN TWO YEAR LIFE OF REPUBLIC.

5. GENESIS OF PANJSHIR VIOLENCE NOT YET CLEAR. VARIOUS CURRENT RUMORS HAVE IT THAT DISTURBANCES WERE TRIGGERED BY:

CLASH OVER TAX COLLECTION; GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL NEW PANJSHIRI LAPIS LAZULI AND EMERALD MINES; DAOUD'S ANNOUNCEMENTS ON LAND REFORM; ARMED UNIVERSITY STUDENTS; MULLAHS WHIPPING UP THE POPULACE OVER GOVERNMENT'S DRIFT FROM ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES; PAKISTANI AGENTS; BANDITS FROM BADAKHSHAN; AND/OR ETHNIC DISCONTENT WITH PASHTUN DOMINATED POWER STRUCTURE (PANJSHIR IS PREDOMINANTLY TAJIK WITH SOME HAZARA).

6. VARIANT VERSION WAS PROVIDED [

] WHO WAS IN PANJSHIR DURING HEIGHT OF VIOLENCE AND WHO STATES HE IS IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH HIGH OFFICIALS OF MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND FOREIGN MINISTRY. ACCORDING TO HIS VERSION, GOVERNMENT FORCES

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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3595

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 04881

KILLED 7 IN BATTLE AND HAD CAPTURED 20 OTHERS WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS AND GRENADES BY THE 26TH. ALL WERE YOUNG AFGHANS, ALL IKHWAN-AL-MUSLIMIN STUDENTS FROM KABUL UNIVERSITY WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO HAVE CONFESSED UNDER INTERROGATION (PROBABLY INCLUDING TORTURE) TO HAVING BEEN ONE OF SEVERAL GROUPS ARMED AND TRAINED BY PAKISTANI MILITARY OFFICERS, WHOM THEY ARE ALLEGED TO HAVE NAMED, IN ATTACK, PAKISTAN. THEY ARE SAID TO HAVE ADMITTED ENTERING AFGHANISTAN THROUGH PASSES INTO BADAKSHAN WITH INTENT TO CAUSE EXPLOSIONS AND OTHERWISE DISRUPT JESHYN CELEBRATIONS IN KABUL, BUT WERE FORCED INTO THE OPEN IN THE PANJSHIR. ACCORDING TO [ ] PEOPLE OF PANJSHIR HAD NO PART IN VIOLENCE, BUT ON THE CONTRARY FORMED VIGILANTE GROUPS TO ASSIST ARMY AND CLEAR PANJSHIR NAME BY HELPING FLUSH STUDENTS ATTEMPTING TO ESCAPE INTO MOUNTAINS AFTER JULY 25 BATTLES. ALSO, ACCORDING TO [ ] GOA IS UNDECIDED HOW TO HANDLE PAKISTAN CONNECTION AS WISHES TO

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AVOID DRAMATIC WORSENING OF RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN.

7. INFORMATION ABOUT TROUBLE IN LAGHMAN (EAST OF KABUL) WAS PROVIDED BY FRG EMBASSY IN KABUL. ACCORDING TO GERMANS UNIDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS SURPRISED POLICE COMMANDANT IN HIS LAGHMAN OFFICE AND SHOT HIM AND TWO GUARDS. MOTIVES FOR THE ASSAULT ARE NOT KNOWN AND THE ATTACKERS HAVE NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED. THE GERMAN SOURCE REPORTED THAT THE ARMY WAS CALLED FROM JALALABAD TO RESTORE ORDER. DEPFONMIN ABDULLAH MENTIONED ON JULY 28 TO AMBASSADOR THERE HAD ALSO BEEN VIOLENCE IN JALALABAD AND PAKTIA.

8. COMMENT: DUPREE'S VERSION OF PANJSHIR INCIDENT IS VERY CLOSE TO ACCOUNT GOA IDEALLY WOULD WISH DISSEMINATED IF ATTEMPTING TO COVER SERIOUS AND WIDELY KNOWN LOCAL DISTURBANCE. MISSION DOES NOT SHARE VIEW THAT GOA WOULD TEMPER ACCUSATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN IF, IN FACT, IT HAD POSSESSION OF HARD EVIDENCE OF SUCH INVOLVEMENT. ALSO SEEMS UNLIKELY, UNLESS THERE WERE ALSO LOCAL PARTICIPATION, THAT GROUP OF 27 COULD HAVE PROVOKED SUCH STRONG REACTION AND MASSIVE USE OF FORCE BY GOVERNMENT. IF OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE ARE INDIGENOUS, QUESTION ARISES WHETHER PANJSHIR, LAGHMAN AND BADAQSHAN INCIDENTS WILL SERVE AS EXAMPLE OF RESISTANCE TO GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY BY OTHER LOCALITIES WITH ETHNIC, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR RELIGIOUS SCORES TO SETTLE WITH REGIME. AS KABUL CLEARLY TAKEN BY SURPRISE, LACK OF FOREKNOWLEDGE AND INABILITY OF POLICE ALONG TO QUELL DISTURBANCES MAY REFLECT ON MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND ITS HEAD, FAIZ MOHAMMAD, UNTIL NOW A CLOSE ADVISOR AND PROTEGE OF DAUD.

IT IS OUR ASSESSMENT FOR THE TIME BEING AND PENDING FUTURE REVELATIONS BY GOA, THAT NONE OF THE ABOVE INCIDENTS PROVIDE A SIGNIFICANT THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE DAUD REGIME, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY CAUSE SOME RESHUFFLING OF SECURITY PERSONNEL.

WE ALSO DO NOT BELIEVE THAT INCIDENTS ABOVE BY THEMSELVES WILL HAVE ANY EFFECT ON US/AFGHAN RELATIONS OR US INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN.

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WITH REGARD TO AFGHAN/PAK RELATIONS, WE FORESEE A REVIGORATION  
OF THE WAR OF WORDS DIRECTED TOWARD PAKISTAN BUT CONSIDER IT  
UNLIKELY THAT AFGHANS FOR THE PRESENT WILL DO MORE THAN HURL  
VERBAL BRICKBATS.  
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